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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*Beck's Hotel, Bolt-court, Fleet-street,
24. July, 1835.*

I HAVE to express my deep regret that inattention should have appeared towards the friends of my father at Preston and at Norwich, who have done his family the honour to vote addresses of condolence to them, and who transmitted these addresses through me several days ago. I received these addresses only this morning, having slipped down to Normandy in the night, being detained by business here in the day, and having found them in a sack of corn! These addresses were most carefully, and free of expense, conveyed to London; but, in place of proceeding from town to the farm, where they were directed in a regular manner, they went, along with other literary matters, in the very whimsical channel aforesaid; and, the sack of corn having gone astray also, and journey after journey having been performed before that reached its destination, these addresses and my other communications have suffered all this delay. Now, having known the sack of corn to be wandering a fortnight ago, and knowing that it contained matters of so much more important a nature, I, in the number before the last, notified my request that all communications for me might be addressed at this hotel. A little reflection will convince any one that the business of an editor and that of a publisher are much more likely to be well attended to by being kept entirely separate, especially when otherwise the literary affairs of the editor are in danger of being so very closely as so-

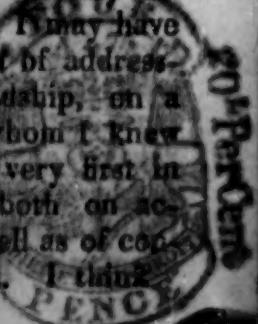
ciated with the rustic affairs of the farmer; and, I am resolved that the inattention and neglect I have apparently shown in the first capacity shall not be repeated if I can help it; and I therefore here again beg all friends or gentlemen, who may have any business whatever with me, to write or come here. This hotel is the same, and conducted in the same manner, which induced my father so often to recommend it to his acquaintance; and it now occurs to me, that it may be of service to mention this, for the use of gentlemen who are comparatively strangers in London, but who are sometimes called here by business. With regard to house-keeping in London, or the half house-keeping called *lodging*, it is a state of slavery in place of independence; and, if the family be not large, much more expensive than an hotel like this, in which there is every convenience, obedient and cheerful servants, and extraordinary cleanliness.

TO

MR. HALLIDAY.

London, 24. July, 1835.

DEAR SIR.—Having observed the very decided manner in which you expressed sentiments, at the late Oldham election, in which I think a great part of the labouring class of this nation do not concur with you, I announced my intention of addressing you upon this subject; in making which announcement, I, perhaps, took a rather unwarrantable liberty, in making that free use of the name of a gentleman with whom I had not personally the honour of ~~my~~ acquaintance. In doing this, I may have too hastily assumed the right of addressing, on the score of friendship, on a great political subject, one whom I knew to have been amongst the very first in the esteem of my father, both on account of private worth, as well as of consideration for public conduct. I think



may say, that you were the chief medium of correspondence from my father's excellent constituents; at all events, I know that your name was the name most frequently mentioned to me by my father; and, if I do not mistake very much, I wrote a great many letters to you at his dictation.

This being the case, I should be very happy if I could flatter myself, that you might accept as a testimony of my respect, the letter which I am about to address to you. Some circumstances have interrupted me in the writing, for this week, and, in the mean time, I beg to subscribe myself, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient and
Most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT, JUN.

P.S. I may confidently beg your attention to that article which I insert in this number fram the pen of my father, addressed to the President of the United States; and, with that before me, I am sure that you will allow that, consistently with implicit obedience to the principles it contains, I cannot but regret to see men for whom I am bound to entertain the highest respect yield to the delusions practised by the grasping tax-eaters of whatever profession or assumed appellation.

their church property and their lay property and the property in their labour, from the accursed Jews of London: these greedy and diabolical radicals, or whatever else they may choose to call themselves, are not to cause the *Malt-tax* to be forgotten by the labouring part of the nation, whom they are now endeavouring to delude into the acceptance of certain alterations of form in lieu of alterations in substance. If the farmers *could be heard*, the greedy radicals would perceive that the heads of farmers and country tradesmen are much too clear to be deluded; the radical-usurers and the Jew-Papists would be convinced that the present delusion is but evanescent, and that they cannot impose long upon the body of the people: and if one might judge from the haste and the eagerness with which they urge on certain measures, that they feel that the time is now or never, for sweeping away all traces of the ancient constitution of this country, and of bringing things to that state, as in France, in which removal of taxation shall be next to impossible.

I have, under the above title, assembled a great many of the arguments which belong to the cause of the farmers, tradesmen, and labourers generally, collected, of course, from the different writings and speeches of my father. I have applied them to the question of the malt-tax, in the form of a "*reply* from the farmers to the sophistries of Sir R. Peel, of Lord Althorp, of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer"; and I have adhered to the real sentiments which I well know to be entertained by the bulk of the classes I have mentioned. It was written some time ago, but my father's illness, and subsequently the dreadful catastrophe, have made me forget the whole thing, till now, when the tremendously important proceedings in Parliament, and the newspaper clamour for revolution in every thing but taxation, remind me of what I had before been intending to do; and, I here insert a dedication to this "*reply*," by which the reader will perceive that it was under the eye of my father that I had intended to submit it to the public. I shall not say what his remark was upon reading what I

REPLY

OF THE FARMERS TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

THE deluders of the people, who, under the name of Radicals, are now carrying on a revolution in every part of the constitution, without reducing one farthing from the taxation; but on the contrary, by the help of the excitement which they cause against institutions which were formed before taxation arose: these radical-revolutionists and grinders of the poor must not cause, in the clamour they are raising about bishops in the House of Lords, about the corporations, about the Irish Church, about the arrest for debt, about the people of Spain withholding

had written, but being authorized by it, I have now put the essay into the hands of the printer, and it will be ready for publication in about ten days, price *one shilling*.

DEDICATION.

TO

WILLIAM COBBETT, Esq., M.P.

MY DEAR FATHER,

It seems uncalled for to prefix a dedication to an essay of no greater bulk than the following; but, when considering the immense magnitude of the subject, and the deep and pressing interest attaching to it at the present moment, you will ascribe, I am sure, to an ardent desire for the national welfare and not to vanity of his own production, the extraordinary solicitude of the author apparent in this circumstance; and, with the general motive which arises from feeling the necessity of a dedication, I need offer no apology for addressing it to you, who have ever so pre-eminently and heroically opposed the measures of the political economists, and especially the all-destructive Peel's bill, the parent of all the disastrous changes in the condition of this country as regards her prosperity and happiness, and which is now upon the eve of dissolving the form of government, the religion, the union, if not of extinguishing national independence.

When in prison, for having written against the flogging of English local militia men by the instrumentality of foreign troops, you commenced that consistent opposition against the schemes then promulgated by the bullion committee; and, when in exile, to avoid the Power-of-Imprisonment Bill, after you had most powerfully endeavoured to bring about a reform in which all men liable to serve in the militia should have suffrage at elections, you then made your memorable prediction with regard to the effect of Peel's bill; which, if it have technically gone into effect, is so far from setting the "currency at rest," that it still leaves the financial system liable to explosion at

any moment, while it is shaking all institutions, making the rights of all classes questionable, has abolished the rights of the poor, in which last particular, by making a substitution of terms in your prediction the sad alternative even is fulfilled, seeing that millions of the poor are in a worse state than on a gridiron, and that they have the odious political economists to stand by, to stir the fire, and to make a jest of their groans!

Taking a retrospect of the events which have occurred in this country during the last twenty years, we find, in the first place, that all is disgrace, misfortune, and misery; in the second place, we find, that the true history of every item in the whole series of ills, places them all in one general table of genealogy, connecting them by regular or collateral descent as the legitimate issue of the fraudulent scheme which first set the accursed political economists in motion. In England, the bill of 1819 soon necessitated the following of it up, by its own author, with *five other bills, repealing about three hundred ancient statutes relating to the administration of criminal justice, and setting aside some of the fundamental principles of the common law*. Here a collateral branch immediately forms from the making of counties rateable for law expenses, which was just now about to be followed up again, by the same author, by removing these expenses from the county-rates to fall upon the general taxation. But to continue the *right line*, and leaving aside inferior progeny, and coming to the Reform Bill itself, demanded by the distresses of the people; albeit it was not *that* which the people demanded, the power, through their means, was removed from the privileged class to the wealthy class. Together with this, or directly from it, continuing in right line, the Dead-body bill and abolition of the Poor-law; police in London; a slight hitch between the factions of political economists delaying only the introduction of it throughout the country, but to which we are now again in a fair way, and equally in a fair way to a separation of Church from State, to abolition of independent corporations, to application of all public property of every sort to purposes subservient to the accu-

mulation of wealth, to making the “ poor poorer and the rich richer”; events implying a resumption of the supremacy of the Pope, a dissolution of the present form of government, and an endless train of consequences, some evident, many beyond the power of imagination, and all too horrible to be indulged by it; though nothing in the catalogue of mortality is too horrible upon the principles of expediency avowed by the doctrine of the political economists.

In Ireland the same police, called *Peelers*, established by the same eminent instrumentality, as the name imports; and which was established, by-the-by, in the nick of time preparatory for the famine of 1823; from that famine the Catholic associations, and, the cause continuing, finally Catholic emancipation (by the same hand again!) to stay the plague and put off the evil day: but, the steady unceasing cause makes an auxiliary of this incident, and with accelerated force the scenes now before us are produced. However, the nature of these scenes is become such, that we may almost hope to perceive in them grounds of hope that they will be productive of a retributive justice. It is idle to imagine that the Irish leaders are to be conciliated, short of causing that change to be made in the condition of the starving millions, the want of which is the source of the power of those leaders, who, without insinuating that they would be conciliated, one may boldly affirm that they dare not be conciliated: the followers of those leaders have taken such order in the case as to leave no motive for acceptance of personal conciliation, and which if accepted must be followed by personal consequences more dreadful, more extirpative, than would be commission of treason against the sovereign authority. It is equally idle, therefore, to imagine that the abolition of tithes in Ireland could be a final measure of pacification with regard to that country, seeing that removal of pecuniary distress is the object, and seeing that the removal of tithe, both in name and in reality, would tend in no degree whatever to remove one particle of pecuniary distress. But how ridiculous, how atrociously trifling must it be to pretend

to suppose that the appropriation of a portion of tithes is to be regarded in any other light than as an accession of precedent and of principle in favour of the radical measures which must be adopted before the cause of agitation can be removed! The whole of the tithes in Ireland amount to about 500,000*l.* annually; the whole rental to about 20,000,000*l.*, of which about 8,000,000*l.* goes into the pockets of under-landlords, or those who have a second estate in the same land and who are otherwise called “ middlemen,” and who may be considered as constituting the principal portion of the persons of property residing in Ireland; while, on the other hand, the 12,000,000*l.* of rent which goes into the pockets of the head landlords, may be regarded as so much wholly drawn and spent out of the country. Now can it be supposed, that the principle, with regard to the appropriation of the pitiful surplus of a portion of the revenue, the whole of which does not amount to a twenty-fourth part of that part of the rents which is carried wholly out of Ireland; can it be supposed, that the same activity, determination, and ingenuity, which are now directing the Irish cause, professedly acting upon the principle of *salus populi suprema lex*, will not apply that principle further, aye, and until the principle be fully vindicated, too! The people of Ireland have a peculiarity from the people of England in this respect, that they cherish more the pride of family in respect of territorial possessions of their ancestors; insomuch that the descendants of families, deprived at different periods of their estates, though such descendants be in the most humble station, are nevertheless regarded with distinction by their fellows, in consequence of the pretended hereditary right; and, further, such persons are said to be invariably possessed of, and to retain with the greatest care and tenacity, the ancient title-deeds of their inheritances! Catholics are certainly frequently now in possession by Protestant titles; but the same law, proceeding upon the principles which have now begun to be acted upon, which might annul all the acts of attainder or confiscation passed by Elizabeth, Cromwell, or since the treaty of Limerick; an

act for this purpose, in the able hands to which it would no doubt devolve, would not fail to find compensation for vested interests, the revenues at hand so ample presenting themselves, at the expense of absentees.

But, what would be the effect of a law for the re-confiscation of estates in Ireland, though perhaps it might be called by names descriptive of justice, of natural and legal right, and of national due? The absentee landlords, who are at the same time amongst our sternest political economists, are mad as well as greedy, to be sure; their madness is such that there is hardly any reliance upon them even when their own interests are at stake; if two ideas are to be put together, you must wait in fear and trembling for their judgment; but, in this case there requires but one idea. However, leaving the absentee landlords out of the question; do we all consider what must be the effect of that removal of manufactures and of commerce which must immediately ensue upon abandonment or re-confiscation of the estates in Ireland? Do we reflect on the circumstance of the ports in England being in a great measure abandoned for those of Ireland, which latter have such natural advantages around her whole coast, which contains more safe havens and harbours than twice the same extent of coast in any part of the world, without adverting to the advanced position of the island itself in that direction in which the commerce of these islands principally lies? Do we consider that Bantry Bay is perhaps the most suitable in the three kingdoms, and from which the voyage to New York is less than that from Liverpool by full one-third upon an average in point of time, and, taking into account risk, light-houses and pilotage, would be less in expense by one-half? Have we, in short, made up our minds to cutting off one half of Liverpool, and removing it to Bantry, and to a proportionate sacrifice of one country to the other throughout every part; to transporting to the barren rocks of Galway the consumption of the coal yielded out of the bowels of England, the employment of artizans and machinery created by English laws and invention, and the exploitation of

commerce hitherto maintained by English valour; to give birth to an independent rival island, and to raise up a career of maritime power where never yet such power was possessed beyond the pilferings by pirates, and never laws or justice created other than the savage wills of contending chieftains; and, finally, to entail a separate independence of Scotland and of the inaccessible parts of Wales, and, for England herself, base union with France, while the Isle of Wight shall become a station for Russian men-of-war, and the Thames a watering-place for Russian fleets on their course to the once English possessions in India!

Good God! is it possible that such things are to be thought of as near at hand! Yet, to all this tend and are now pushing forward with astonishing rapidity the effects attendant upon that "setting at rest for ever" which is still persisted in, and against which you have unfortunately stood alone for so many years. Unfortunate is it that you should have to be characterized as you were by the author of this Bill when you moved the expulsion of him from the Privy Council on the ground of this his said authorship; unfortunate indeed is it that he could characterize you on account of this your distinguished and unsupported opposition to the ruin of your country, as standing alone amongst men like a "genus" composed wholly of yourself! That you may not much longer comprise a "genus"; that the currency may not much longer remain "set at rest"; that the late signal failure in the attempt to reconcile this "setting at rest" of the currency with the continuance of any one institution in the country; that, after this late experience, exhibited to us by the same brilliant incapacity for state affairs which has presided as the evil genius all through, plain good sense may come forward, equally confided in by the King and by the people, equally attached to those institutions which belonged to England in her glorious and happy days, and equally determined to return to the prosperity of those days; that such a man may now come forward, before whom the conflicting interests shall dissipate, by whom the envies, the jealousies and the vanities shall

not be mortified, nor the just pretensions insulted, and, therefore, who shall possess avenues to all the sources of information and may rely upon the spontaneous aid of genius and talent, is the most ardent hope of,

My dear father,

Your ever devoted,

Affectionate Son,

W.M. COBBETT, Jun.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

ON Monday the 20. instant, the Municipal Corporation "Reform" Bill was passed in the House of Commons. This bill, it will be observed, *does not include London*, so that that corporation, the corruptions of which were the original cause of inquiry into corporation abuses, is the only one which shall escape this reform! The misapplications and spoliations and robberies of this corporation are, of course, to an extent very little short of that of *all the other corporations put together*: however, this was no argument in the present case. It was not the alleged "abuses" of public trust, which were sought to be corrected: it is the annihilating of that portion of independence in elections which, through the old corporations, the people of this nation retained! There has been very little real debate upon this great matter; but it is to be hoped that it will not pass through the House of Lords as a pill is taken. There ought, at all events, to be a *good deal said* about a measure like this. Such a bill as this ought not to be passed with less talk upon it than upon a common *Bill in Chancery*. The change ought not to be made without the usual forms of trial. The corporations ought not to be condemned as outlaws, for their alleged petty perversions of public money, while the magnitude of the corruptions of the great Wen are the ground of its impunity!

On Tuesday, the *Irish Church Bill* was proceeded in, on the motion that the House should go into a committee upon

it. How far this will be a matter-of-course affair can be guessed only at present, the House adjourning from night to night. But one thing we know, that the whole matter of dispute (so far as it is avowed) is only as to the application of a supposed surplus above the wants of the clergy, the whole revenue of the church being, at the utmost, less than six hundred thousand a-year; that is to say, a fortieth part of the rental.

FOREIGN ENLISTMENT BILL.

THE article which I take from the *Standard*, though it appeared some weeks since, contains some arguments, and a view of this very important matter, which I think it my duty to put on record. The extract from *TEMPLE*'s history I leave out, as being of less interest. The point of view under which this expedition is considered is not that under which I consider it; but, I beg the attention of the readers of the *Register* to this subject, upon which I shall submit the considerations which press themselves most forcibly upon my mind next week.

GENERAL COCKBURN's letter to the fundholders, which I find in an Irish paper, is a document which I am confident my father would have recommended to his readers. To this gentleman he had lately, in a very impressive manner, desired me to look up with the greatest attention, as to one who presents a very rare instance of great importance in point of rank and of command, and of the most perfect independence; as to one, who in his administrative capacity, has been ever strict, while, in his capacity of landlord, and in all situations in which his private influence was powerful, one of the mildest and most indulgent men living. With this knowledge of his character, how different is the tone of this published letter, which I insert, to the delusive and selfish declamations of the self-styled liberals or radicals!

TO THE FUNDHOLDERS,

And the Upholders of Public Faith, the Aristocracy, and all the Blockheads in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

I TAKE the latter from the dedication of my friend the late Col. Philip Roche's, Fermoy, commentary on the Memoirs of T. W. Tone; and as he observed, so do I, "You all whirl round a common centre of attraction, called SELFISHNESS."

" You have been long in possession of a great portion of the political power in England, and how you have used it is now pretty well known. I enter not into party, all factions being pretty much the same; and, therefore, Courtiers, Tories, Whigs, Radicals, Repealers, Doctrinaire, or Juste Milieu Reformers (and some of you must belong to one or other of those I address), be not offended, if I endeavour once more to open your eyes to the state of our country.

I have worked hard for you, and even for the parsons, that is, to save you from utter destruction, and, instead of the thanks I deserved, have been abused—represented (I should say misrepresented) as a person wishing to overturn our ancient and venerable institutions, and unjustly called a destructive Jacobin.

Those who act so towards me are very wrong. They are the destroyers. I am for the restoration of all the good laws, good customs, glory, fame, and, alas! the once comfort and good living of Englishmen, which *was* the envy of surrounding nations.

But I know I am singular, for of those who live in ease and comfort the great mass are *blockheads*, or blind.

Talk of miracles! They would not believe were ten to rise from the dead.

The corn-law, and the fund-law, and the paper-money law have lived long together: they are the real Democrats and Destructives, and they must die and be DAMNED together.

The bill called Peel's has, in my opinion, been unjustly called his law. I do not forget that the collective wisdom passed the said bill unanimously, and after long and repeated debating on the

subject; and it is, therefore, very unfair to throw the blame of it on Sir Robert Peel. The bill, however, caused a most serious change in the value of the currency, and a consequent reduction of taxation and in prices should have taken place to meet it.

We may say that by an operation of law on a certain day in 1819, the sovereign in gold was made to be worth six shillings more than its actual value, or in plain words, would purchase as much wheat as a bank one-pound note and six shillings would do.

But be this correct or not, the borrowing in a paper and depreciated currency, and forcing the public to pay its interest in gold (so much more valuable than the paper) is little short of confiscation, and has deranged our entire system, and occasioned a revolution in property; and the poor to be robbed of the legitimate rewards of industry.

Lord Western appears to think that the enormous sum of 65 millions sterling are annually lost to the circulation by the above change.

But be the causes what they may, the present low prices, compared with high rents, tithes, taxes, &c., are flooring all the small gentry, and reducing the labourers to paupers, occasioning a change of temper, of morals, and general dissatisfaction amongst all, and particularly the industrious classes, every day adding to our difficulties, and the consequent dangers that await us.

Some propose, as a remedy, to lessen the value of the sovereign, leaving it a nominal pound, but reducing its actual value to 14 shillings. I fear it would be pregnant with mischief, and would not prove a remedy, but the contrary. This induces me to say a few words as to the currency, a subject which has puzzled the learned, the blockheads, and all our political economists.

I cannot conceive why we should not make silver a legal tender as far as £200, as in France and on the Continent; and as to the rag currency, I am astonished how any rational and honest man can support such a system. A system proved over and over to be ruinous, and which, through artificial capital, gives the man

of straw an advantage over the fair trader who has a *bona fide* capital.

A certain but limited quantity of paper money might, like bills of exchange, be convenient; but it should be under very different regulations from the present system. The Bank of England has twenty millions out in notes; the Bank of Ireland, I dare say, ten; for they earn or make them by steam. The private banks of the United Kingdom I dare say have twenty millions more out—in all fifty millions—of what a Minister called worthless rags.

Is not this enough? And yet our political doctors, I beg their pardon “BLOCKHEADS,” would increase this nuisance.

But if we must have paper, I would reduce it to twenty millions at most for the United Kingdom, and allow no such issue but by what is called Government. They should be the only bankers allowed to issue notes, and none under £5, and thus the nation would have the profits and be certain of no over issue, and then, indeed, and under this limitation, a £5 note would be as good as five sovereigns.

This, or something like it, must be adopted, or the numerous new banks will hasten the blow-up.

The impossibility of paying the interest of this debt, with wheat at even five shillings a bushel, has been demonstrated by Mr. Cobbett. Then, how long do you expect this system to last? Besides the progressive ruin of numerous families, we are positively bound down, aye *chained*; and, talk as you please, England cannot go to war, and to my sorrow, and deep sorrow, has been obliged to *submit*, in respect to her place amongst surrounding nations, to what she would not have done fifty years ago, or would our forefathers have believed it possible.

Now, do consider what I shall state to you. There are about 300,000 fund-holders. If the sponge were applied, one third of them and their families would be ruined; actual paupers; one third would certainly be losers, but not ruined. And as to the other third, they being Jews, money-jobbers, speculators; nay, some (however unjustly or not) would say *swindlers*, or very rich *land*, as well as fund lords; they would not, indeed, be pitied, but laughed at. Thus it, in fact,

comes to this point: “Shall this nation be kept in distress, in degradation and turmoil, and chance of terrific revolution”; or shall 100,000 persons be sacrificed; and, mind, “to their own *blockheadism*” and obstinacy? for to this it comes.

This system, however, is so interwoven with selfism, despotism, and obstinacy, and the variety of interests enlisted in the support of it, that it brings every rational man to the conclusion, that either to equitable adjustment or the sponge it must come. The sponge would be national bankruptcy, and attended with very great general mischief and terrible destruction to numbers.

But I every day see the public opinion advancing towards the sponge, and I cannot give you a stronger instance of it than the following: The most benevolent and just man I ever knew (the late Mr. Higgins of Yorkshire), was once as angry as so mild a man could be, with me and his son-in-law, General Sharpe, because we did not agree with him in the opinion that all land and property should be obliged to liquidate the debt, and be taxed for it accordingly, striking off about 20 per cent., or, in other words, paying the fundholder 80*l.* in gold, or its value for his loan of 60*l.* in paper, and levying it on all land and other property. And he published a pamphlet at Ridgway's, in 1819, to recommend this plan. He lived, however, to see his error; and in 1832 he published another pamphlet, in which he actually goes nearly to the sponge, and calls it an act of justice, which would restore happiness and prosperity to all the farmers and their workmen, and to the manufacturers, who, if landlords and farmers were ruined, could not live. In truth the prosperity of both is bound together; but the interest of the fundholder is opposed to both. I will not quote the words of another without naming him, particularly when unfortunately dead.

Mr. Higgins proceeded to say that the title of the fund-lords to their nominal property is rotten at heart: they bought it at a rotten price, and at an enormous rate of interest.

Now, my dear blockheads, do consider this matter rationally, and do not drive

the nation to the sponge. Recollect that no man or men have a right to sell the produce of their children's labour for generations to come; and, in fact, this is the effect of the funding system, a profligate system which should be abolished for ever. Disguise it as you will, taxes fall in a heavy proportion on all the working classes, and on the poor, and it cannot be otherwise; but the greatest curse of our taxation is, that it demoralizes all ranks; for when men find themselves unmercifully plundered, they begin to think plunder a good trade, and they practise it as we all feel.

We must all submit (and it is our interest and duty to do so) to pay what is actually necessary for the State; but reduce the debt, and you get rid of thirty millions a year of taxes. The establishment would come down accordingly; salaries the same; all would soon find its level, and happiness and comfort re-appear amongst us, instead of discontent, agitation, party violence, and abject poverty.

May it not be questionable how far Parliament has a right to bind their successors and the unborn to such a debt? That they have a right to do so for their own term I grant; but I ask can, or ought, this almighty Parliament (as it is called) to make laws for more than their own time? clearly not; for a new Parliament can repeal all or any of the acts of a preceding one. The only thing they cannot touch legally is the common law, and the long established institutions, carried down from one generation to another, and not questioned; but, as to MONEY, I ask what power has a Parliament beyond its own duration?

In fact they ALLOW this very point, and *beyond* it—for, do they not vote the supplies, and money bills, and appropriation annually? and do they not stand precisely to the nation, as any rich individual does to his children, on whom his estate is entailed—he *cannot* make them pay *his* debts.

However, my dear *blockheads*, I must not make my letter too long. Bolingbroke, Hume, Paine, and Cobbett, have laid this matter so clearly before you, that if you will not be advised, you will deserve

the inevitable ruin which is threatening you. I myself published in 1830, in a letter to Lord Grey, a plan for your salvation, and also that of the nation—it has never been answered; and we have strong symptoms of much of my advice being adopted, but not so as to save you, which was my chief object, and I fear your doom is sealed.

If it were possible to turn your *blockheads* into *wise* ones, you would clearly see all this, and you would yourselves propose equitable adjustment. Then indeed, I would join you and say, "We will not suffer these persons to be ruined, they shall be equitably dealt with."

The persons best acquainted with these matters tell us that at this moment one-fourth of all the inhabitants of England are pauper or insolvent; and this, observe, in a country 20 years at peace, and where the people are the most industrious and hard-working in the world. I, who have seen much of Europe, never saw any other people half so industrious, or half so deserving of good treatment. They are naturally a good people; their vices and crimes may be traced to their government.

But as to the Ministerial words "breach of faith," you are the delinquents. Our public instructors, the newspapers, have over and over shown you that when you are so wedded to public faith you entirely forget, or choose to forget, public honesty, or the injustice to the debtor, and that the nation being called on to pay in a currency of increased value a debt contracted in one of much less, is a monstrous injustice; and here we may bring in the equitable law maxim, viz. "Nemo tenetus est ad impossibile."

Consider these matters candidly, and you will see that we are now forced to pay taxes in nearly *double* the amount laid on: and yet by a perversion of all justice and reasoning you would continue this if you could. But the nation is now in a ferment, and we approach a crisis, and one, I confess, I dread, being any thing but a Republican. I wish the Aristocracy would learn wisdom in time; for if they will join the *blockheads*, and like the Jesuits cry out, "Tutti o niente," I can guess what will happen.

Believe me you must submit to very great changes, or revolution will do the business for you. Power and the wealth of the Aristocracy may defer *the, to you, evil hour*; but what Mr. Paine said, and applied to you, is most true, viz., "Nothing more certain than death, and nothing more uncertain than the time of it." So I say to you: nothing more certain than your ruin if you continue obstinate, though the time, like death, may be in a few months, or not for some years; but it is equally certain, for we cannot much longer pay, with a gold currency, even the interest of a debt contracted in paper.

And now, my dear fund lords and *blockheads*, I take my leave of you. I know well that you will abuse and misrepresent me, though I deserve better from you. Never mind sycophants, or what hired persons may write to disguise facts from you. Think of your families; bear in mind that the present misery and discontent take its rise from excessive taxation and corn laws. Self-interest prevents your seeing the inveteracy of the country's disease. The first week of civil strife would probably terminate your dividends.

What has happened to the debt of other countries might surely serve as a warning to you if any thing would, and I shall never again trouble you with advice:

G. COCKBURN.

Shanganagh, June 8, 1835.

THE FOREIGN ENLISTMENT BILL.

(*From the Standard.*)

There are two or three considerations of this important step of the Government to which we think attention ought to be directed. As these considerations, however, would be only clouded and perplexed by investigating the matter, with reference to Spanish or any other foreign politics, we beg to decline entering upon the question of the disputed succession in Spain, in the few remarks we are about to offer. These remarks will be found to apply equally, whether the young Queen or Don Carlos be admitted to have the better claim.

The first consideration that we would press upon our readers relates to the moral propriety of the late order. Has a government the moral right to encourage its subjects in the pursuit of general war, as a trade or profession? If no Foreign Enlistment Bill existed, doubtless the British Government would have no more power to prevent its subjects from going abroad to sell their blood, and to spill the blood of others with whom, as a society, we have no quarrel, than it would have to prevent men going abroad to follow any less questionable trade. But the Foreign Enlistment Bill gives to the Government a power of confining its subjects to the prosecution of such wars as are personally justifiable in the case of every Englishman; and with the power which it gives in this, as in every other case, the law imposes a corresponding responsibility. It is quite free to Lord Melbourne's administration, to say to every Englishman, "Thou shalt do no murder," upon the person of a Spaniard or Portuguese, any more than upon the person of one of your fellow-subjects. We would not impose any prudish or puritanical restriction upon the right of foreign war. We think that "the sword, which the magistrate beareth not in vain," may be conscientiously unsheathed to protect national interests as well as private property; and, as much of national safety rests in character, to vindicate national honour. Nay, we will go farther and say, that a nation having no commune arbitrium in the last resort to protect it, has a right to obviate consequential dangers, by interrupting the growth of formidable power, even by the sword, where the sword offers the only instrument for such interruption. To us this right of war is clear and indisputable; and, as nations find it convenient and an economy of bloodshed, to carry on war by the agency of a separated professional class, we see nothing whatever objectionable in the profession of arms; in fact, we believe that the navy and army of Great Britain, at this moment, comprise some of the best and most pious men in the empire. In this case, however, the right of warfare is clearly deducible from the inherent right of defence, which every individual brings with him

into the world ; which is expanded and generalised, when men form societies, and which is methodised and applied according to the convenience and judgment of the social union.

With much that is evil, in our time, there is this good ; men have learned to inquire, carefully, into the foundations of their rights and duties. We wish that curiosity would take a direction to this point—have men a right to make war a trade which they can prosecute in any cause, and in, and for, any country—a trade which they can carry beyond the original warrant of individual and national defence ? We certainly think that they have not. To us it is manifest that, the excepted indulgence in favour of defence failing, the original prohibition, “ Thou shalt not kill,” returns in full force. We know that there are precedents and authorities, in ample stream, flowing against us ; but, as we have said, we live in an age of jealous scrutiny, as to the moral foundations of rights and duties ; and we presume that, as it is possible at least, that the prosecution of war, without national commission, may be sinful, the subject deserves serious consideration when the executive Government issues a general license for the practice.

We now turn to another consideration. Certain persons, authorised, it appears, by the Queen of Spain, without consulting as to the fitness of those persons, for anything we know, with the King of England, or his Ministers, are about to levy an army in the United Kingdom. Is there any precedent for this, occurring in times to which we may safely look for precedents ? We know that there is one precedent, in the seventeenth century, upon which we will remark hereafter ; but is there any precedent since the revolution of 1688 ? We believe that no such precedent can be found within the constitutional age of the empire.

Now let men seriously reflect upon the purposes to which this precedent may be applied. A bad Minister, armed with authority, may at any time cause an army to be levied to any amount in number, and without the authority of Parliament. Ten or fifteen thousand levied in the name of the Queen of Spain, may be

followed a few years hence by a hundred thousand, or a hundred and fifty thousand, raised nominally for the service of the King of Siam, or the King of Owhyhee ! This may be called an extreme inference ; but we have Lord Brougham’s authority for the doctrine, that extreme cases are the proper tests of principles—and nobody can question the legitimacy of the inference, that the late proclamation may justify the levying of an army in the United Kingdom, without consent of Parliament, and to any extent—if it is suggested that the levying of an army without consent of Parliament ought not to be an object of alarm, because an army so levied cannot be permanently kept up without Parliamentary supplies, we submit that an army once levied in sufficient numbers, would soon find a mode of keeping itself up with or without the agency of the House of Commons.

Wallenstein has taught a great financial lesson in this particular ; but there have been generals, before and since the Duke of Friedland, intuitively instructed in this branch of fiscal science. What, however, if a corrupt Ministry, acting with a corrupt House of Commons—such things have been, such things may be again—should avail itself of this precedent, to levy an army to control the feelings of the aristocracy and the people, there would be then no want of supplies. But another objection,—it may be said that this irresponsibly levied army, consisting of Englishmen, might be safely trusted not to offer violence to the liberties of England. We admit that great reliance is to be placed on any army consisting of Englishmen, officered by Englishmen, and commanded by Englishmen ; but there is nothing, whatever, in the precedent now set to limit the composition of the levy, its officers or commanders, to natives of Great Britain ! We are indeed informed very generally, that the levy is to be an Irish levy ; and all the principal officers, whom we have heard named, are, we believe, natives of the sister kingdom. The precedent, therefore, now set, will go to authorize at any time a levy of 100,000 repealers, in the name, it may be, of the Queen of Spain or the Pope of Rome. Instead of the

5,000 men to be raised, it is said, by Mr. Fergus O'Connor, that illustriously descended, though (see the committee's report) lackland dynast, may array 50,000 under his banner — of course giving his word of honour that their services are intended for Rome or Arragon!

Once again we cite Lord Brougham — "extreme cases are the tests of principle." But we need not appeal to the authority of the noble and learned Lord for proof, that an army may be levied for Spain, in Ireland, the design of levying which contemplates anything but Spanish interests.

This brings us to the case in point, to which we have already made allusion. The Irish rebellion and massacre of 1641 was begun by an army levied in Ireland for the service of Spain. Lord Melbourne will find the whole story in the 82nd and following pages, octavo edition, of Sir John Temple's "History" of that rebellion and massacre. We have not room for more than the following extract, which we would impress seriously upon the attention of every reader. But we may add that the Spanish levy supplied every where the leaders in war and murder; and that not a man of them ever proceeded or intended to proceed to Spain!

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

LETTER IV.

SIR,

King's Norton, 4. Feb. 1835

INSTEAD of a letter addressed immediately to you, I have chosen in this instance to address a letter to the President of the United States of America; which letter I here subjoin for your perusal. You will perceive that I have been endeavouring to describe to him the various workings of the MONEY-MONSTER in England; and, in addition to what I have said to him, I will here observe to you, on the effects of the money-monster in the crippling and debasing of a nation in regard to its foreign relations, that it is this monster which is now compelling the French, in spite of their bluster, to eat

their words and yield to the American republic; that it is this monster which now makes England appear not to perceive that Russia has taken possession of Turkey; and that it is this monster which will destroy every thing within its reach, if you have not the courage, like the President of America, to seize it by the throat and to strangle it.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

On the destructive Effects of Funds, and of Paper-money in England, France, and America.

SIR, King's Norton, 5. Feb. 1835.

I do myself the honour, and I well consider the meaning of these words before I use them: I do myself the *very great honour* to send to you for your acceptance a copy of a little book which I have just written and published, called, "A Legacy to Labourers." To you, sir, who are a lawyer, as well as the greatest statesman and the greatest military commander of this age, I need say nothing in explanation of the principles, of the facts, and of the arguments contained in this little book. You will perceive, from the dedication prefixed to it, the provocation which drew it forth; and the natural tendency of the work with regard to effects. But it may not be unuseful to inform you, that of all the things that I ever published; and you can recollect publications from my pen more than forty years ago, you being a member of Congress in Philadelphia when I was there so bravely fighting single-handed the battles of England, in defiance of the censures of you all, whether just or unjust: it may not be without utility for me to inform you, that of all the works that I ever published, this, in point of effect, appears to be the greatest. An edition of five thousand copies has been able to stand the demand for only about twenty days; and I have not the smallest doubt that, before twelve months are over our heads, this work will have been read, and

its principles adopted, by one million of Englishmen and Scotchmen; I having great doubt whether any effort of mine or of any body else can cause it to be read by any considerable portion of the people of unhappy Ireland, whose lot I have just beheld with my own eyes; and with regard to whom, the only consolation I have is, that the oppressions of Ireland sent you forth to do the famous things which you have done, and the still more famous things which are in reserve for you to do.

I pray you to receive this little book, Sir, as the fruit of the best talents, the most sedulous industry, and the most ardent zeal which I ever possessed: I beg you to receive it as the thing which I possess the most worthy of being presented to you, as the greatest benefactor of mankind whom I have ever known.

Before I proceed into the other most interesting matters relating to England, let me stop to congratulate the sensible and brave people of the United States on the steps which their faithful representative has taken with regard to that very sincere personage, the citizen-king of France. I was in hopes that the vanity of the "*grande nation*" would have urged them on to resist, till an American squadron had spoken to them in language to cause the quarrel to be remembered. I see that, according to their usual custom, after suitable gabblings and *pestings*, and other outcries, against your *rondeur* and your *manière brusque*, they have thought it prudent to hear the account afresh, and to determine that they were mistaken; in fact, to have adopted the *parti sage*, which is always to avoid blows. Yes, sir, a million sterling, in solid crown pieces, in your chests at Washington, will be a great deal better than for them to be left in France for the citizen-king and his Bourse to gamble with.

And now, sir, for the situation of this kingdom. You have read of the change of Ministry; a great deal you have read about Whig and Tory, about *Conservatives* and *Destructives*; and you will find that the tenour of the whole talk of the factions is, *a preservation of the institutions of the country*. You have too

much knowledge of the causes which have been at work to express wonder that these institutions should be in danger, after a twenty-two years' glorious and successful war to uphold them. You know these causes too well to ask how it is that those institutions can be in danger, after a war which has swept away all our old enemies, and at the end of a peace of twenty long years. You will not ask what it is that can have produced the present difficulties and dangers; for you well know the nature and tendency of PUBLIC DEBTS AND PAPER-MONEY. You know that we must be convulsed; you know that there must be revolution in effect, though there may not be in name; you know, in short, that the State must destroy the money-monster, or that the money-monster will destroy the State.

These things, in substance, you know; but, it may amuse you to be informed of the curious and surprising manner in which the money-monster is working. Everything that you see of a revolutionary character is produced, not by the "*spirit of the age*," as that at once weak and vigorous old man, Lord Grey called it; weak towards the money-monster, vigorous towards the working-people; everything that you see of this character is produced, not by the "*spirit of the age*," but by the *money-monster*. Wheat is now sold at five shillings the bushel, where it would have been sold at seven, had it not been for your wise movements. Great numbers of farmers are ruined, singly by this operation. Yes, one single little movement of yours has plunged the whole of the pecuniary affairs of this kingdom into a state of embarrassment inexpressible. Your movements, however, while they oppress all men of real estate, and all the industrious classes, fatten the money-monster; give him seven shillings, while before he had five; that is to say, cause a bushel of wheat to be sold, and two shillings worth more, in order to get him that which he got out of one bushel of wheat two years ago. This cripples the farmer; he must either pay less rent or less wages. The landlord wants the rent; the labourer will be paid; to deduct from his wages is the great and manifest tendency of that Poor-law Bill, of which

I have treated in the little book. So that you will perceive, it is the money-monster that is at work here; for let who will perish he survives. The landlords dare not touch a hair of his head, and that, too, for reasons which will occur to you without their being pointed out, especially when you shall have read my series of letters to Sir Robert Peel. Thus all the community is plunged into turmoil, by this attempt to get at the wages. It will naturally be asked, why the Government hatched this new and extraordinary measure, making so great an addition to all its other difficulties; why they could not suffer to remain laws of two hundred years' standing; laws which were the real glory of England; laws under which such an industrious people had been created or had been reared up. Ah, sir! but the money-monster wanted that which this industrious people had in return for their labour. It was not a thing sought by the Government, but a thing hatched at the suggestion of the money-monster, by a nest of brutal Scotch vagabonds, who would starve and skin half mankind, in order to procure the means of living in idleness themselves. I beseech you to read the *Dedication* to the "Legacy to Labourers." You will see there the real causes of this desperate act.

In the meanwhile, the money-monster is pushing on in other directions. If you remember, sir, I, in a former letter, told you that the money-monster had got into his possession the far greater part of the small estates of this kingdom. FORTESCUE tells you, you know, that there was, in every village or hamlet, one, at least, of those men called *Frankeleys*, that is to say, something more than a *yeoman*; a man with a considerable mansion, and independent estate in land; these formed the natural magistracy of the people. If you look into SPELMAN, you will find that this was still the case in the reign of King JAMES the FIRST. The moment the money-monster was created, he necessarily began to swallow up these *Frankeleys*; and by degrees he has swallowed them up, to the last man. If you were here, and would accompany me, I would take you down a single vale, in the beautiful county of Wilts, and I

would there show you, in the length of thirty miles, and, on the average, a breadth of five miles, the ruins, or the former site, of more than twenty gentlemen's mansions, all which contained families holding in hereditary right, when George the Third came to the throne. A very respectable gentleman of Buckinghamshire told me last winter, that in that county, in a diameter of twenty miles, including the fine vale of Aylesbury, every little gentleman was extinguished; that there was not left one man except himself, in that whole space, capable of acting as a magistrate, except clergymen! I state this to you, sir, in the face of all England; and you will gather from these facts, that those who used to be called "the *country gentlemen*" of England are totally annihilated.

I told you, in that former letter, that the great estates still resisted, generally speaking; but that they must go after the rest, unless a stop were put to the progress of the money-monster. I told you, that his all-disturbing and devouring snout had been in some degree arrested by *entailed* park-walls; by walls round the closes of the cathedrals, round bishops' palaces and parks, and round the walls of colleges and the like. Alas, sir! if you look at our present projects and proceedings, you will find that the monster is making great progress in getting his snout under all these now. He is beginning to shake them; and the clergy are all flitting about and squalling, like a congregation of crows (lodged by prescriptive right in the tiptops of your lofty pines), when the fatal axe of Jonathan begins to sound at the stems.

You, sir, who are a *lawyer*, as well as soldier and statesman, know very well the nature of church property in England: you know that it is interwoven with every acre of land, of whatever tenure, in the whole kingdom. You are too good a judge of these things not to know, that if once this property be touched, in any shape whatsoever, unless by a general sweeping measure that would make a distinct line of demarcation, the touch will extend itself, directly or indirectly, to every estate in the country. You will know that it is

impossible to make a law to take away the value, or part of the value, of an advowson, without causing the same principle to be applied to the holdings of bishops, deans and chapters, and colleges. You will know that you cannot touch these without extending the touch to lay-tithes; and you will know that these cannot be touched without proceeding upon a principle which would resume the abbey-lands, and place them at the disposal of the State. And, sir, that I am not talking of things here which are mere matters of imagination, let me beg you to observe, that it is confidently stated in his own papers, that the Minister means to meddle with advowsons, and with the property of deans and chapters.

Pray stop with me here, sir, to admire the inscrutable ways of Providence! You well remember that the long and bloody war against the republicans of France was undertaken, expressly and avowedly, *to prevent the overthrow of the church, particularly in England*. There were the other avowed objects of preserving the throne and the hereditary nobility; but more particularly the church, the heads of which were ten thousand times more clamorous for war than anybody else; and objected to make peace even when all the rest of the nation would have consented to peace. You must have been here, sir, to have an idea of the exultation and of the outrageous insolence of the parsons, when Napoleon had been put down. Alas! when they were thinking that they had made sure of themselves and their property for ever, they forgot that *debt*: they forgot that *money-monster* to whom they had been obliged to apply for aid during the war, and who was destined finally to swallow them up.

It is this MONSTER which is now making them shake. You cannot, sir, unless you were here, feel sufficient surprise at this now universal clamour for "*church reform*," and especially for a doing something or another with *tithes*, as being things *so injurious to agriculture*! Why, sir, tithes have existed a thousand years in England. Agriculture has flourished during that thousand years.

Agriculture was all prosperity and all boast for the twenty years preceding the passing of Peel's Bill. What, sir, have we forgotten the Holkham sheep-shearings, at which sovereign princes, and now and then an aristocratical fool from America were guests. Have we forgotten the Woburn sheep-shearings! Have we forgotten the cattle shows, the wool-shows, the prizes of all sorts! Have we forgotten the endless improvements in agriculture! Have we forgotten the boast of the late Mr. Curwen (member for Cumberland), who said that he saw five hundred farmers assembled at a sheep-shearing at Holkham, each on an average worth ten thousand pounds! It was one of the boasts of those who dinned "prosperity" in our ears, that the tenants of Mr. Cok^{es} (of Holkham) lived in elegant dwellings, replete with modern conveniences, and this, too, while they paid rents, perhaps, *five hundred per cent.* greater than his ancestor received. This was only a specimen of the whole country; we saw the farmers rise into wealth in every quarter. *Threshing-machines* were universally in vogue; the flail was thrown aside; these threshing machines frequently being made to work with eight-horse power or more, to thresh out two or three loads of wheat in a day, and to cost, sometimes, nearly five hundred pounds. The "*turnip husbandry*" rose up at the same time; *man-gel wurzel* husbandry next; together with both, "*artificial grasses*" of every species known to LINNÆUS adopted, sown or planted on almost every farm in England; machinery endless for the multitudinous modes of carrying into effect all the new theories in agriculture; and, inventions for those purposes constantly occupying the thoughts of noblemen, gentlemen, and farmers, at their meetings and clubs, and in their correspondences. The style and port of the farmers (the class of persons more immediately affected by this state of things) changed from that of plain men to that of dandies; their denomination from that of *husbandmen* to that of "*agriculturists*"; the new-fangled inventions, speculations, and theories put in practice on their farms, dignified by the term "*experiments*," instead of being derided with the old

English word "maggots." In short, all was glory, gladness, and splendour with those who touched the land, as proprietor or occupier; to be convinced of which, one need only open any of the volumes of the EDINBURGH REVIEW and other publications, which were in great repute amongst the landlords of ENGLAND during the period to which I allude; and, as a specimen of their language, permit me, sir, to give you one passage from the "philosophical" work which I have named, and which I take from No. IX. of its lucubrations, at page 204, being written in the year 1805; at which time the agricultural "prosperity" was by no means at its height. The passage is as follows: "The commerce and manufactures of this island conceal, in some measure, its AGRICULTURAL GRANDEUR: of which we may not, perhaps, obtain a full view, unless their splendid superstructure of present prosperity, moulder away, from the fragility of the materials, or shattered by external violence, shall expose the strength and extent of the base on which it is rested." Sycophantic as this was, addressed to such a class of readers; stupid and hollow as it was, coming from the "philosophers" and from "modern Athens," these terms were neither false nor figurative, for the sycophant *wanted words to exaggerate* the appearance of the prosperity which he beheld; it was, sir, really and literally, "agricultural grandeur," for twenty years or thereabouts; but, notwithstanding all this "agricultural grandeur," you will observe, sir, that THERE EXISTED DURING ALL THIS TIME THE EXACTION OF TITHES, whether in kind or in composition, and frequently practised with more rigidness, not to say greediness, than they had ever been before. And with all this, and not a single whisper ever heard against tithes; not a single whisper ever heard about tithes being injurious to agriculture! This, therefore, is now a false pretence. It is the money-monster that is working to get hold of the amount of these tithes: and this you will see very clearly when you have had time duly to reflect upon the subject.

Then, with regard to the other parts of

"church reform," what are they? Why, the benefices are of greatly unequal amount; there is a great deal of non-residence of the clergy; there are a great many shameful pluralities; there is a monstrous swallowing up by deans and chapters; the working clergy are starved, while the aristocratical clergy wallow in wealth, and carry away the revenues of the parishes, to be spent at Bath, Brighton, Cheltenham, London, Paris, and Rome. Now this is all very true, but it was equally true twenty or thirty years ago. I complained of these things thirty years ago, but did any one attend to me? Yes, and my remonstrances upon this subject formed a grand item in the motives for persecuting me. Not one single writer could I ever find to join me: nay, as to the grand complaint, *non-residence*, there was a law to prevent it, and to expose the parties to heavy penalties upon informations *qui tam*. A gentleman brought hundreds of actions against the clergy, and carried some of them on to conviction in the Court of King's Bench. *An ex-post facto law was passed to stay the actions, and finally, to quash them, and to repeal the law inflicting the fine for non-residence!* And, the gentleman who had informed against these delinquent parsons, so far from receiving public applause and commiseration, was reviled as a jacobin and republican!

Strange that, all at once we should now have been seized with so anxious a desire about the regular and efficient administration of the church! Strange, sir, that the bishops and all the dignified clergy should be so anxious for this "church reform"! Strange that the Minister who is the "friend of the church," *par excellence*, should himself intend to propose to us, even to touch the *property* of the church, in order to cause a speedy restoration of the diligent and pious administration of religious rites in the church of England?

Ah, sir! you will not be deceived by these pretences, any more than I am: you will see the silent snout of the money-monster, smelling about, first at the cathedrals, next at the bishops' palaces, next swinging it round over the clerical tithes; *in order to insure the payment of his interest.* You remember

very well, sir, that it was just thus in substance in France, in 1789 and 1790. That it was not Louis the Sixteenth, but Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, who, by the debts which they had contracted, finally produced the revolution in France. Look at their proceedings in France. Brienne, Calonne, Necker; several others, every one with his project for finding the means of paying the interest of the debt. There were no means, without flying at the church. Burke, if you recollect, remonstrated with the assemblies; talked of *the title of the church being preferable to the title of the fundholders*; foretold that the people would derive no benefit from giving the property of the church to those who were called the creditors of the State. He pleaded in vain: the money-monster pushed on; finally devoured all; and, I beg you to reflect, that this monster has, through all the series of revolutions that have taken place; through all the confiscations and all the rivers of blood, still maintained his predominance: and that at this moment, the French people, after a quarter of a century of deeds of valour, the bare relation of the facts of which would in any other age have been deemed fabulous; that this acute, this brave, this determined people, are now a set of base slaves, creeping about in fear; everywhere seeing a fundholder-bayonet (under the guise of National Guard) pointed at their breast; and, under the sacred name of liberty, crouching to a "Citizen-king," who is the chief of the fundholder band!

I beg you to contemplate this picture. The present Ministry in England would fain uphold the church; but they cannot; and, their apparently voluntary offer to reform the church, is, in fact, a measure forced upon them by the money-monster, who, indeed, rules all in reality, and who will continue to rule through all times and circumstances, unless the people of England shall be more wise than the people of France have been. It is so flagrantly unjust to continue to pay this monster in a currency of sterling gold, that one cannot account for it, until one takes a closer view of the state and number and description of those who are

called the "public creditors," the facts relating to which, I beg leave to point out to your particular attention, seeing that they may serve as a clue to the unravelling of a matter which appears at first blush, altogether unaccountable.

Sir, we speak always of the fundholders as a great mass of persons wholly dependent upon the good-will of the Government for their existence: we speak of them as widows, orphans, and retired old people; helpless mortals, to take away whose incomes would be an act of excessive cruelty. We never seem to perceive who and what the fundholders really are. It is difficult to come at, and they will take care that it shall be difficult to come at, an exact account of the number of the fundholders of each class, and of the proportions of dividends received amongst them. However, the following, which is an estimate made upon the Bank Return for 1829, that is to say the year before the Whigs came into power, is not far from being the truth; and if you look well at it, you will cease to wonder that it is almost at the risk of one's life that one proposes to take one farthing from the interest of this debt, even though that may be necessary to the preservation of the independence of the country.

The whole number of fundholders 275,839

Of these, those who receive interest under the sum of two hundred pounds a year	250,816
Those who receive interest under a thousand pounds a year	22,934
Those who receive interest under four thousand a year	1,937
The rest	152
	275,839

I estimate that, in the aggregate, the two hundred and fifty thousand eight hundred and sixteen receive above	9,000,000
The twenty-two thousand nine hundred and thirty-four receive	8,500,000

The nineteen hundred and thirty-seven receive	3,500,000
And, the hundred and fifty- two have all the rest	9,000,000
	£30,000,000

Now, with regard to the correctness of this estimate I do not pretend to be *exact*, for it is impossible, at present, for me to arrive at the exact truth. The statement will appear, at first sight, almost incredible; but it is the nearest guess at the real state of the case that I have been able to make. The sums which I have placed against the three first classes are the greatest that I think can possibly be allowed, in estimating the average sums *really received* by the several classes enumerated in the Bank Return; and, in stating the sums in round numbers, I have stated them *over* in the three numerous classes, and *under* in favour of the small class. As to this said Bank Return,* if we were to take the average sums received by the individuals of each class, as ascertained by the average between the highest and lowest dividend placed against it, then we should find that the two hundred and fifty thousand fund-holders received *twenty-five millions* of pounds, and the twenty-two thousand and the nineteen hundred together, *fifty millions* of pounds; consequently, that there would be *seventy-five millions* of pounds of yearly interest paid to individuals receiving *under four thousand pounds a year*; and so that there must be *forty-five millions a year less than nothing*, out of which to pay those whose annual interest exceeded four thousand pounds, and who, in fact, receive nearly one-third of the whole! And yet, such is the conclusion that any one would

naturally draw from this Bank Return, who was wholly uninformed about the matter.

Thus, then, here are a hundred and fifty-two men, who receive, on an average, upwards of fifty thousand pounds a year each, interest out of the taxes. It is utterly impossible that any ancient institution; that any set of laws, securing liberty and securing people's earnings; it is utterly impossible that either of these can exist, in a country where a hundred and fifty-two men have this hold upon the resources of that country. These men are not *seen*; nor are they heard, except in the strange sounds about "national faith" and "public credit," in the uttering of which Ministers, Parliaments, and Kings are their mouth-pieces. But, sir, look at the natural consequence which must arise, if any one or more of these hundred and fifty-two men were to be INVESTED WITH POLITICAL POWER! Think, I beseech you, of the consequence of this; for you do not want to be assured by me, that when once love of interest of money has taken possession of the soul of man, it swallows up every other consideration, whether as to this world or the next. *Church!* what is church, when weighed in the balance against this mountain of gold! *Tithes!* *golden prebends!* of what "use" are these, except for the purpose of paying these men-mountains of gold! Property in land is very sluggish in its influence; it has a variety of dependences, which make it difficult to bring it to bear for the carrying of any given point; but, a round sum in bags laid down before you of twenty-five thousand pounds every six months, is a lever wherewith to lift a nation, and to twirl it about at your fancy.

You have seen, sir, an account; or you will see it, in the little book which I do myself the honour to send you, of what is called the Poor-law Amendment Bill; you will see that its avowed object was to save the estates of the landlords from being swallowed up. You will see that it has been avowed and professed distinctly, that, in order to effect this, the working people must be reduced to a coarser sort of food. It is the same money-monster that is at work here; he

* [From Bank Return of 1829.] Receivers of half-yearly dividends, not exceeding 5*l.*, 85,154; above 5*l.* and under 10*l.*, 42,167; above 10*l.* and under 50*l.*, 97,673; above 50*l.* and under 100*l.*, 25,822; above 100*l.* and under 200*l.*, 15,046; above 200*l.* and under 300*l.*, 4,812; above 300*l.* and under 500*l.*, 3,076; above 500*l.* and under 1,000*l.*, 1,501; above 1000*l.* and under 2,000*l.*, 436. Upwards, 152.

is grasping hold of the land by mortgages innumerable, and almost as general as the land itself; the falling-off of rents endangers the mortgagees. To restore rents, *the wages of labour must be taken, and put into the pocket of the landlord*; and this bill, sir, so very dangerous as it is, so hated as it is, is really and truly, at the bottom, the work of the money-monster; the work of that small number of concentrated and combined men-mountain of gold, which I have represented to you in the above table.

It is the interest; the pressing political and party interest; the interest of the Ministry, of the Tory party; of the King and his family; it is the obvious and pressing interest of all these, that the TAX UPON MALT should be repealed. There is no possible argument against the repeal; and, reasons so strong for it, that no man dares enter the lists in argument against it. Yet, in spite of all this; in spite of the imminent danger in which the new Ministry is placed; in spite of the certain security which they would derive from the repeal of this tax, we are confidently told in the newspapers, that the Minister will risk even his place and his power, and leave the King again to the mercy of the Whigs, rather than repeal this tax; his only reason against it being, that without it he cannot keep "*national faith*."

Here you have a practical instance of the power of the money-monster. Here you see us just in the track of Necker and Calonne: and here I am afraid you see the beginnings of an end not very much unlike that which you have seen before. It signifies not what wealth we have. If we had ten times as much as we have, it would all be absorbed by this monster; for it is utterly impossible for any creative power; for any wealth, for any resources, to stand against the power of a hundred and fifty-two men, who receive, in interest, in gold, nine millions of pounds sterling a year.

Sir, the oppressions and sufferings of this country, compared with the freedom and the happiness of the people of America, have frequently been ascribed to the difference in the two Governments; and, certainly, as far as mere economy goes,

the people of America have had the advantage. But, sir, when men ascribe the advantage of the Americans to the absence of a dominant church; to the absence of all the trappings and expenses of royalty; to the absence of a house of hereditary legislators, and to the expenses attendant on their families: when they ascribe your advantages to the absence of these institutions, let them bear in mind, that the ever-damned system of banks and paper-money had brought even your country to the eve of general convulsion, and had very nearly dashed to pieces all the laws of property, and left you to the right of the strongest! Let them recollect that, in the absence of all our trappings and "useless show," this monstrous system had brought bunches of houses in Philadelphia, which had yielded a rent of sixteen hundred dollars a year each, down to a state to be offered, three houses for a single bottle of wine! Let them recollect to such a State had this fraudulent system brought your happy country, that, in one of the states, the chief justice recommended a law to be passed, to disqualify every man possessing land or house from giving that possession in security for loan for mortgage; and for rendering null, every bond, note, deed, or anything else that he should sign, unless first approved of by a Court of Justice! Let them recollect that a chief justice recommended this law, as the only possible means of securing wives and families of landowners against the indiscretion of the fathers and husbands, whom it was found impossible to protect, in any other way, against the arts and frauds of the usurers. Why, sir, it was nonsense to talk of liberty or property after this; and yet this became necessary; and that, too, in a country where every principle of liberty was inculcated, and where the very air and the earth seemed to say, "No one shall ever want here."

In France tithes have long been abolished; there is, in fact, no dominant church; there is no hereditary legislature; the mere titles of nobility are a mockery; the king is elected, and may be turned out any day. There is not one ancient institution, and, consequently, no abuse

of such institution left remaining; yet, by the means of this atrocious money-monster system, the people are more degraded and more miserable slaves than they were under the sway of any of the descendants of St. Louis. It is the BOURSE that arms the russians, called the National Guards, every one of whom carries a bayonet, to compel the people to toil to pay the interest of the debt: and they slaughter them with as little mercy as they would kill rats and mice. You detected your horrible bank in *suborning the press*. In France, they do the thing more openly and effectually: *they suffer no man to be a JOURNALIST unless he first become a fundholder*; and unless he acquire and *keep the ownership of stock, on his own exclusive account*, to the amount of *four thousand eight hundred pounds sterling*!

Before I conclude, sir, give me leave to lay before you a most striking instance, in proof of the fact that the money-monster has completely subdued the nobility and gentry of this kingdom. You know the nature and character of our long-existing game-laws. You know how rigidly they were adhered to; you know, that the game was the pride of the estate; that the exclusive right to pursue and kill it belonged to *the land*; and that the *qualification* to kill game, was the possession of freehold land of the rental of one hundred pounds a-year, or of copyhold land of the rental of one hundred and fifty pounds a-year; this qualification was a great feather in a man's cap; he was called a "*qualified man*"; his name with the word "*free*" upon a ticket tied to game made the possession of it legal by an unqualified person; and, without such certificate it was a crime for any person to have game in their possession. The qualification to kill a hare was equal to the qualification for being a justice of the peace. You must have lived in England forty or fifty years ago, to be able to judge correctly of the vast importance of this matter, which, you will please to observe, was a privilege in continual activity in every village and every hamlet of England and Wales in particular. In short, to uphold this privilege, really occupied

more of the attention of the nobility and the gentry, than any other or than all the other ordinary affairs of their lives.

You will perceive, sir, that no amount of interest receivable from the funds would give a man the right of killing or pursuing game. A millionaire, with a gun in his hand and a dog by his side, in a field or a wood, though there by the leave of the owner, was liable to be brought before a justice of the peace, upon his summons; was subjected to the penalty of five pounds; or, in case of refusal to pay, to be sent to jail for three months. He had no defence, unless he could prove that he was a landowner to the amount before-mentioned.

About twelve or fourteen years ago, the London newspapers (all more or less at the command of the money-monster), began to complain of this exclusive right of killing game; and to represent *that funded property, the funds being, in fact, a mortgage upon all the land, ought to form a qualification, as well as landed property*. Year after year this complaint on the part of the fundholders grew louder and louder: till at last, the fears of the landowners made them give way. Still, however, they were too proud to acknowledge the base fears by which they were actuated. They found it difficult to pass a law to put funds upon an equality with land, without putting other personal property upon an equality with land; and they talked upon the subject, two or three years without acting. At last, the clamour of the money-monster growing louder and louder, and the fears of the landlords growing greater and greater, they passed an act, not expressly to allow fundholders to sport; but to *do away with all qualification whatsoever!* An act of cowardice; an act of self-abandonment; an act of self-degradation, never before equalled in this world!

At the same time, and to complete the degradation, they enacted that *game might be sold*; thereby totally repealing the old law, which made it a penalty in any man to sell game, whether qualified to kill it or not! So that, here they are, now, with hardly a single exception, sellers of game; poulters, traffickers; and you see all the markets of all the

great towns in England, with hares, pheasants and partridges for sale, as commonly as fowls, ducks, and geese. Nay, the very lords themselves go out with their keepers and servants, to kill the game for the purpose of selling it; and all the ideas of rank and station, and enjoyment of sport; all these are totally banished from the minds of the people; who, of course, and of necessity, have lost all personal respect for this whole class and description of men, from the duke down to the squire.

At the same time that they made these enactments, they made the law more severe than ever with regard to farmers, tradesmen, and particularly, with regard to labourers, whom they made liable to transportation *by justices of the peace, for seven years*, for those very offences against the game-laws which were punished before with only a penalty of five pounds! Very curious, too; but quite natural, when one reflects, in proportion as the nobility and gentry have thus abased themselves before the money-monster, they have become haughty and severe towards the common people; and have treated them with a degree of scorn and of insolence, which they never experienced from their forefathers: but it is a just and a stubborn people that they have had to deal with; who have repaid them scorn for scorn; disdain for disdain; revenge for severity; and, thus, even here have the workings of this money-monster dislocated society in a great measure; and caused ill-will and a resort to coercion, instead of that persuasion, and that willing obedience to a sort of natural magistracy, which existed with so much harmony and so much happiness, before the money-monster came to effect this no very unimportant revolution in the Government of England.

In short, sir, it signifies not a straw, what is the form of the Government; what the political, and civil, and municipal institutions: what the laws of a country; what its local advantages; what even the character of a people; what their habits, what their manners, what their virtues: all these signify not a straw, if the monster of paper-money and of funds be suffered to exist: this monster cannot

co-exist with liberty, even in appearance: this fact your sensible and brave countrymen have clearly perceived; you have had the wisdom and the resolution to strangle the monster, as far as relates to your own country; and to give him a furious squeeze, with regard to all the other countries of the world. For this you have the profound gratitude of every Englishman worthy of the name; but, of no one more than of

Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POOR-LAW STRUGGLE.

UNDER this head I shall content myself with notifying that my "Analysis" of the "Poor-law Amendment," will be published on the 1. of August, and that it will be ready for publication, and for the accommodation of the trade, from the 28. instant. The price of this book is three shillings in boards, neatly printed in duodecimo; and this is as low as it can possibly be for a book of the size, containing a like quantity of paper and print. It is intended for the use of all descriptions of persons, and has been composed by me as a manual, such as every person should be possessed of, who desires to lend any active assistance in any capacity whatever, in frustrating the designs of the political economists in the prosecution of the poor. I had composed it, in the first place, for the use of my father, in the motion which he had intended to make for the repeal of the new Poor-law, and also for his use in the capacity of a rate-payer. It may be asked, if I think I could have rendered more clear to him any of the bearings of a law upon which he had already written a considerable volume; and I, anticipating such an observation, most unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative; such is the complexity, the confusion, and such the almost impossibility for any one, no matter who, to completely comprehend all the effects of this law, by reading any of the editions which have been published. Not less than a million of copies of this Act have been circulated, including perhaps twenty different editions of abstracts; nevertheless, I have

seen nothing which, upon the devoting one entire day to the studying of this **Act**, will enable any person to undertake, in the capacity for instance of a rate-payer, of a parish-officer, or of a magistrate, to render effectual opposition to the proxies of landlords, and to the hired commissioners. But the book which I here offer to the public, I recommend as one by which any person may be, upon a single reading, as the French term it, *au fait* upon every point contained in this **Act**; that is to say, that he may, with this book in his hand, be master of the whole matter, and enter the vestry-room, to face commissioners, proxies, dukes and landlords' guardians, upon a perfect equality (at least), in point of information, with regard to all the bearings of the **Act**, in every possible particular, and so as to be upon his guard against every possible trick or subterfuge which it is possible to practise against the interests and wishes of the people. In short, in my own capacity of rate-payer, as I have now unfortunately to act in that capacity, I am ready for any sprig of bastard nobility who shall come to Normandy commissioned to cause a union of our parish with those of half the county: I shall be ready for him with all the legal difficulties, and shall possess all the resources which such difficulties will give us against him; and, if I were to bet upon it, I should not mind betting two to one, that if we have the honour of such a visit, Mr. Commissioner will find that the difficulties are too great, and, in short, that he had better leave us to ourselves, and not condescend to lend his protecting hand to teach the rate-payers amongst us how to economize our own resources, and to raise the character of our labourers, for the present, at least. Mr. Commissioner will soon find that the "ignorant farmers," whom the great noble Scotch philosopher thought incompetent to dispose of the money which they earned, prefer, nevertheless, to squander their own earnings and creations after their own manner. And, I believe, that when we come to an over-hauling and publication of the accounts, even the noble patron of the Scotch philosopher, who, though in less coarse language and manner, expressed something very much like the

same sentiment with regard to the fitness of farmers and small tradesmen to manage this part of their affairs; I hope that that noble lord will be satisfied, that persons in his rank of life, though the greater part of their time certainly is devoted to the creation of the means of existence to others who do nothing, may nevertheless be competent to dispose of whatever surplus of earnings may be left to them, without the superintendence of commissioners, guardians or trustees. It is no new thing for the party who creates or produces, not to have the entire enjoyment of his earnings; but, it is certainly a strange idea that the person by whose skill and industry property is created, is disqualified by the very circumstance, for the disposal of it with economy and justice! Now, the question at present is, how is the introduction of this dreaded Poor-Law in the various parts of the country, to be prevented through the exertions of the rate-payers, without at every turn employing lawyers? A voluminous act is what no one can discuss adequately, not being a lawyer, without a very great deal of study; this is impossible for men engaged every day in business: and, seeing and feeling this, my object in this work has been, to render this act a thing to be comprehended by any one who had time to read it through once. I have made abstracts; I have made selections from the act; I have made various comments; and I have arranged and classified all the matters in the way I think best: in short, if I had been specially retained, on any occasion, to oppose this act in all its parts, the book I here present is just such as I should have made for my own use upon such an occasion; and I shall always use it, and shall never look at the act in the original shape, nor at any other edition of it. I am quite certain that Mr. Commissioner FRANKLAND LEWIS will do the same, if he have not, as I suspect he has not, already every part of his business at his finger's ends; and I beg to observe to this gentleman, that he may perhaps do me the honour to recollect that I, some years ago, made an "Analysis" of his *Turnpike Act*, without which I, without much presumption, may, I think, ex-

pect him to admit that no person could understand that act, unless after the sacrifice of more time than any individual can devote to such a purpose ; nay, without which, I should not be at all surprised if he were to acknowledge that he could not understand that act himself.—Still, however, though I, without ceremony, recommend my book to the commissioners, I am well aware of the imperfections which I am exposing to the public ; and nothing would induce me to recommend it in this positive and urgent manner, but the desire to run all risks to contribute in any degree to the object of defence of the poor and of the interests of the country.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JULY 17.

INSOLVENTS.

GREENWOOD, J., late of Leeds, now of Halifax, Yorkshire, music-master.

WILKINSON, G., late of Windsor-terrace, City-road, wax-chandler.

WOOD, C., sen., and C. Wood, jun., Poppin's-court, Fleet-street, printers.

WYMAN, F. J., Queen-street, Cheapside, calenderer.

BANKRUPTS.

ADDISON, W., Taunton, tea-dealer and grocer.

CHENNELLS, J., Limehouse-hole, wine-merchant.

COLE, W., and H. Goodman, Northampton, tailors and drapers.

CORBETT, T., West Ham, Essex, nursery-man.

COUPEES, F. and W. Coupees, Luton, Bedfordshire, straw-hat-manufacturers.

FENWICK, N., North Shields, common-brewer.

GARRETT, R., Woodstock-street, Oxford-street, lead-merchant, and of Battersea, vitriol-manufacturer.

HUNT, R., Steward-street, Spitalfields, silk-manufacturer.

IMESON, H., Tooley-street, Southwark, iron-monger.

MUSSELWHITE, T., Devizes, saddler.

NICKS, J., Warwick, carpenter and builder.

THOMSON, R., Star-court, Bread-street, warehouseman.

WHITINGTON, G. T., New London-street, merchant.

TUESDAY, JULY 21.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

GADSBY, J., Nottingham, baker.

BANKRUPTS.

BONE, M., South Shields, grocer.

DICKINSON, W., Cateaton-street, shoe-manufacturer.

GRAY, J., Wentworth-place, Mile-end-road, linen-draper.

HOBBS, J., Carrington-mews, May-fair, livery-stable-keeper.

MEREDITH, C., Rochdale, ironmonger.

MESSENGER, T., Liverpool, provision-merchant.

ROBERTS, G. W., Adam's-court, Broad-st., merchant.

ROWE, R., Fulwood's-rents, Holborn, licensed-victualler.

SHOUT, B., and H. C. Nicolas, Milbank-street, Westminster, blacking-manufacturers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 20.—The supply is moderate this morning, and, in consequence of the fineness of the weather, Wheat is from 1s. to 2s. cheaper than on this day week, with a very dull sale at that reduction. The price of Barley is entirely nominal, the trade being over. In Oats nothing is doing, the consumers holding back from an idea that the genial weather will produce an abatement of price. Beans and Peas may be quoted nominally as on last Market-day, but scarce any thing has been doing in either; and other articles remain without any variation from our former prices.

Wheat, Kent and Essex	34s. to 50s.
Suffolk	32s. to 49s.
Norfolk	32s. to 45s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	25s. to 31s.
Malting	33s. to 40s.
Malt	—s. to —s.
Peas, White	35s. to 38s.
Boilers	38s. to 40s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 38s.
Beans, Tick	35s. to 38s.
Small	35s. to 40s.
Oats, Potato	25s. to 26s.
Poland	22s. to 24s.
Feed	22s. to 25s.
Flour	29s. to 33s.
Fine	38s. to 40s.

SMITHFIELD, July 20.

In Beef, the market for the finest Scots is at 4s. 4d. to 4s. 6d. per stone; for prime Lincolns and Durhams, 4s. 2d. to 4s. 4d.; and for the coarser and inferior Meat, 2s. 4d. to 3s. 2d. In Mutton, prime Downs are 4s. 2d. to 4s. 4d., the finest Kentish and Leicester Wethers 3s. 6d. to 4s., and coarse, old, and inferior Meat, 2s. 6d. to 3s. Prime young Calves are at 4s. 2d. to 4s. 8d., large and coarse Calves at 3s. 2d. to 4s., and prime dairy-fed Porkers, 3s. 6d. to 4s.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	4	to 4	6
Mutton	2	6	to 4	4
Veal	3	2	to 4	8
Pork	2	2	to 4	0
Lamb.....	3	4	to 5	4

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent Consols.

Monday	90 <i>1</i>	Thursday	90 <i>1</i>
Tuesday.....	90 <i>1</i>	Friday	90 <i>1</i>
Wednesday	90 <i>1</i>	Saturday	90 <i>1</i>

ANALYSIS

OF THE

POOR-LAW BILL;

ADAPTED FOR THE USE OF

JUSTICES AND ALL CONSTITUTIONAL
AUTHORITIES:

CONTAINING

An Abstract of all the Matters, together with a Selection of the Important Parts, arranged in Parts and Sections, which are subdivided according to the distinct matters they contain; together with

REMARKS,

Showing the inexpediency and injurious effects of the Bill generally; its tendency to aid the designs of the Political Economists; and its oppressive operation with regard to the Poor, and especially the poor of

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